631 the secretario, who is, without exception, a Ladino, for his responsibilities require a good knowledge of the Spanish language as well as office skills, which the Indians usually lack. Actually it is this official who controls all the administrative affairs of the municipio. He imposes fines, collects taxes, assigns communal work, and keeps in con-
• [62] tact with the state authorities. After him rank the regidor, síndico, alcalde, police commander, and policemen.

621 Besides these authorities, which are the officially recognized ones, the Indians have their own government system, which in most places is still operating. Oxchuc is
[888] typical of the regional pattern. There the
[887] municipio is divided into two calpules, each of which is a kind of fraternity under the supervision of those old men having the
[776] greatest knowledge and prestige. Each cal-
[796] pul has also its own patron saint, venerated with special feasts and ceremonies throughout the year. (In Oxchuc the calpules are not geographically determined, and its members are spread in different parajes of
62 the territory.) Authority is now integrated in the following officials:

1 katinab, supreme chief of the whole calpul
1 okil kabil, "feet and hands" of the preceding, i.e., secretary
2 dzunubiles, supreme "pulsers" or "curers"
1 alcalde, who carries a staff of office
2 comales (or governors), who also carry staffs of office
2 síndicos, who also carry staffs of office
4 x-tules (or regidores)

555 The four last jobs are reached by strict
624 hierarchy and indicate the progress of each
794 individual in the fulfillment of his social duties. This social-service career begins when the man is not yet married, when he is assigned the cargo of mayordomo of the church, which means that he has to attend to minor affairs connected with the church and to keep it clean. Shortly after his marriage he usually reaches the position of capitán, where he is responsible for the fies-

[P. 220 - A]

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico*, his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

621 his children, nor can he keep control of village affairs after his year of service has been fulfilled. Even a man occupying a post of high responsibility and prestige, a juez (judge) for example, becomes just an ordinary citizen after he leaves the office. All the men in the village theoretically, and most of them in practice, become village officers at some time in their life.

An individual starts at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder in the cargo of policía (also called mayor, topil or comisariado), which is a messenger or cleaning and errand boy for both the Mayordomos and Cabildo members. (He is the hands and feet [581] of the government.) The only requirement for this job is to be married. After this position has been "passed," a man is ready to start climbing the ladder to higher officerships, if he fulfills [581] the other requirements. He must have a child, a wife, and the [556] money which he is compelled to spend as part of the job: new clothes, liquor, and perhaps money to pay other men to help him with the agricultural work to which he cannot, being an officer, dedicate his full time.

During his life time, a man is required to pass a certain number of positions in the government, alternating Church and Ayuntamiento posts with rest periods of between one and three • 62 years. After he passes the required number of officerships, and 887 by then he would be an old man, he becomes, automatically, a 888 pasado (a man that has passed his service), and can retire to private life, or become a principal, a member of the Elders' Council, a "father of the town." The Principales are the elder men in the village, highly respected for their wisdom and sought

•62 887 888 after for advice in many different events, such as helping to decide the divisions of an inheritance among brothers, giving advice to a drunkard husband, etc. They also have important political functions: they are called in by the Ayuntamiento to help solve the difficult witchcraft cases, and they have to approve the nominations of officers before they are presented to the community as candidates.

621 554 In selecting new officers, age, marital status, seniority rights and previous experience are considered important. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more respected it is and the more authority and responsibility it carries. While the lower positions can be filled by any man, the higher ones require certain personal skills that not everybody possesses, so it becomes more difficult to find the right man for the job. Some men fail in commanding the respect of their fellow citizens (because they drink, or they fight with their neighbors, or similar breaches of behavior for which they are not selected for cargo), or they become senile, or die before they become pasados, so not every man arrives at the ideal and most reputable role of Principal, which is the top role a man can achieve at the community level.

621 624 554 To be a principal a man has to be able to get along with his kinsmen and neighbors, he should not be suspected of witchcraft, he should be able to deal with outsiders to the community avoiding conflict with them, he should be fast in judging the behavior of others and solving problems, and his word has to be precise and carry the necessary weight to convince others that his opinions are sound (un hombre que "sabe hablar"). Moreover, he can more easily

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

62 794 693

CHART 1 – CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS

Officials in the Townhall	*Officials Who Link Townhall and Church*	*Officials in the Church*
Principales (*Krinpolenk*) First Principal (*Sba Krinpal*) Second Principal (*Sbebal Krinpal*) President (*Presirente*) Secretary (*Secretarié*) Síndico (*Sindiko*)		Fiscal (*Pilkal*)
Judges (*Alkalenk*) First Judge, Alanzanzik (*Sba Alkal* or *Primeró Alkal*) Second Judge, Ahk'olnantik (*Sbebal Alkal*) Assistant Judge, La Grandeza (*Alkal Suplente Bohibal*) Assistant Judge, Madronal (*Alkal Suplente Magronal*)		Mayordomos (*Martomaetik*) Cofrades or Brothers (*Kobrarietik*) Cofrade of Sacramento (*Kobraria Sakramentó*) Cofrade of Sta. Lucía (*Kobraria Halal Me?tik*) Cofrade of San Pedro Martyr (*Kobraria Tatik Martil*) Cofrade of San Francisco (*Kobraria Sanpranzikó*) Elders (*Tatik*) Elder of Santiago (*Tatik Santiagó*) Elder of San Antonio (*Tatil Tatik Sanantonió*) Elder of Virgin Rosario (*Tatil Me?tik Rosarió*) Elder of San José (*Tatil Tatik Sanhosé*) Assistants to Cofrades (*Ali?bal Kobrarietik*) Assistant to Sacramento (*Ali?bal Sakramentó*) Assistant to Virgin Santa Lucia (*Ali?bal Halal Me?tik*) Junior Mayordomos (*Ni?nal Martomaetik*) Junior of San Pedro Martyr (*Ni?nal Tatik Martil*) Junior of San Francisco (*Ni?nal Sanpranzikó*) Junior of Santiago (*Ni?nal Santiagó*) Junior of San Antonio (*Ni?nal Tatik Sanantonió*) Junior of Santiago (*Ni?nal Tatik Santiagó*) Junior of Rosario (*Ni?nal Me?tik Rosarió*)
Regidores (*Rehirolenk*) First Regidor (*Primeró Rehirol*) Second Regidor (*Sbebal Rehirol*) Third Regidor (*Yolebal Rehirol*) Fourth Regidor (*Shunebal Rehirol*)		
Policemen (*Mayolenk*) 2 First Police (*Primeró Mayol*)* 2 Second Police (*Sbebal Mayol*) 2 Third Police (*Yolebal Mayol*) 2 Fourth Police (*Shunebal Mayol*) 2 Last Police (*Spasl Mayol*)	Alferezes (*Alperezetik*) Elder Past (*Tat Pasaró*) Remains Past (*Šil Pasaró*) Second Past (*Sbebal Pasaró*) New Alférez (*AP Alperés*)	

*Also called Mariscuncy.

[P. 212]